li Huntingford E-4, 9 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

patronymic from their father's porridge name. Younger sons generally take their patronymic from the father's nickname, or else from some circumstance in their own lives.

Circumcision

Boys are circumcised at the same intervals as the Nandi, and the Dorobo keep watch for the opening of the Nandi circumcision. Occasionally boys are circumcised in Nandi with other Nandi boys, but more often in the forest, as in the circumcision of 1936–30. Sometimes a Dorobo acts as operator for the Nandi. The whole procedure of circumcision (*tum*) is identical with that of the Nandi. Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy whenever there are enough ready to be done, and not at any stated intervals.

Age-sets

The Dorobo have borrowed the whole age-set system from the Nandi, and it works exactly as among the Nandi, with the same set-names and 15-year intervals synchronized with those of the Nandi. The reader may therefore be referred to the account of the Nandi system, p. 31. A slight difference in the sub-divisions called *mat* may be noted: the Dorobo have only three, called *Cepinich*, the senior; *Taparik*[1] or *Kipalkoayek*, the middle; and *Ruwakanik* or *Kiptoïnik*, the junior. A more significant difference is that the sets have no military or political force, for the Dorobo are not fighters, and the practical effect of the system is to introduce further behaviour patterns, as well as to modify the traditional rules of hospitality; for while no Dorobo would refuse to shelter one of his own horde, the degree of hospitality varies according to the age-set situation.

Political Structure

Land Divisions

The Dorobo live mainly in dan settlements divided between a number of districts or parishes (*koroinek*, sing. *koret*). Till about 1930 these settlements were in small clearings inside the forest; after 1937 they were spread round the outer edge of the forest.

The Clan

The clan, *oret*, is an exogamous patrilineal group with a name and a totem, *tiond ap oret*, the animal of the clan. The existence of eight clans is attested by genealogies and the census; three others are reputed to exist or to have existed, though none occurred in my records; they were, however, mentioned to me in 1927 as well as in 1936–9. Each of these clans has one totem, except Moi which has three, one of which it shares with another clan; it is not the totem which is important, but the group itself, the clan being a social group, not a group of people mystically related through their totem. The emphasis is therefore on the clan name and not on the animal, though marriage, nevertheless, is forbidden within the clan. An exception to this rule is found in the case of Moi, where intermarriage is allowed between people of different totems, an anomalous feature due possibly to the influence of the Nandi, among whom Moi marriages are common between people of different totems. (See p. 27.) There seem to be no restrictions either on marriage between clans (as among the Nandi), or on killing or eating the clan animal, which suggests that originally the Dorobo clans were non-totemic, and that their present totemism is a feature borrowed from the Nandi along with the clan names, which except for one of the reputed clans are all Nandi.

[1] The Nandi occasionally use *taparik* for this *mat*; it is a Nandi word meaning "the turves."

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

TABLE OF CLANS

Clan name	Corresponding Nandi name, used also by Dorobo	Source	Dorobo totem
Kapeshoi *	Kipkokoe Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane
Moi *	Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane buffalo small red bird
Kipieken *	Kipieken	Nandi clan	baboon
Kipamui *	Kipamui	Nandi clan	duiker
Kapii *	Kipsirkoi	Nandi clan	bush pig
Toiyoi *	Toiyoi	Nandi clan	rain
Korapor *	Tungo	Nandi clan	hyena
Talai *	Talai	Nandi clan	lion

The three reputed clans are: Kipongoi,* corresponding to the Nandi Kamwaike, totem partridge; Kipasiso,* corresponding to the Nandi Kipasiso, totem the sun; and Koŋoŋ, apparently a Dorobo name, totem snake.

(All names marked * are of *Nandi* origin.)

The clan is the basis of political organization, and people tend to live in clan settlements under the control of a clan council. This council consists of all the old men of the clan. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares honey-wine or beer, for the business of the council is done in an informal way with a jar of honey-wine as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is. Business is done first and the drinking follows. The council deals with clan matters, including disputes between clansmen, boundaries of hunting areas, homicide of a clansfellow, incest, and the preliminary arrangements when a clansman has killed a member of another clan. Disputes are settled by discussion, and the result is announced by the council leader, *kirusokindet*, who is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, but someone fairly senior who acquires his position in much the same way as does the Nandi *poiyot ap kokuet* (p. 32).

The Koret

Superimposed on the clan areas is a system of districts (*korosuek*, sing. *koret*) possibly due to Nandi influence. Each district includes several clan settlements, and has a council which is formed of the elders and circumcised men of all the clan settlements within it; the council sits under a tree (there are no special council trees) in an open space from which the bush has been cleared. The function of the *koret* council is to handle inter-clan affairs. It has a leader, also known as *kirusokindet*, whose position and duties resemble those of the leader of the clan council, and he acquires his office in the same way. There was no chief of the horde.

The forest is divided into nine *korosuek*, named (from north to south), Cepurur, Kelpui, Sirua, Kipkorom, Sosoiyo, Meteitei, Mokopic, Puret, and Sapalo. In 1939 only three of these were occupied: Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo (which had by then been amalgamated with Meteitei).

Legal Sanctions

Crimes against which primary sanctions are directed include incest, witchcraft, and disobedience to the council. Secondary sanctions deal with trespass, theft, homi-

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

THE DOROBO OF KIDOŊ (KERIITA)

History

The group described by Lambert as living at Keriita on top of the escarpment, on the edge of the Forest Reserve 10 miles north of Limuru, is that classed as Kidoŋ in *Anthropos* 1951.[1] It was seen by Thomson in 1883 at the place known to the Swahili as Mianzini (" place of bamboos ") where, he says, a Dorobo village was established for selling food bought from the Kikuyu to the Masai and the traders.[2] This group is part of the Kikuyu Dorobo who occupied the land before the Kikuyu came. The process by which the Dorobo had completely lost their land by 1887 when Teleki passed through is summed up by the Kenya Land Commission as one " partly of alliance and partnership and partly of adoption and absorption, partly of payment, and largely of force and chicanery."[3]

Organization

There are no chiefs, control being in the hands of a council of elders, with a leading elder called *kiruokindet*, as among the Kipkurerek. Marriage is patrilocal, and descent patrilineal. Polygyny is permitted. Boys are circumcised, and girls are subjected to clitoridectomy. There appears to be some sort of age-set system, but Lambert's statement is not very clear on this point.

There are said to be nine clans, with Nandi-looking names beginning with the prefix *kap-* (which does not imply territoriality, but simply means " group of "). These clans are sometimes referred to by Masai clan names, or even by Kikuyu clan names. The word for clan is *ol-gilatait*, derived from the Masai *oil-gilata*, " clan," and not, as Lambert suggests, from *ol-gelata*, which means not " plain," but " side path."

Religion

A so-called supreme being called *Tururit*[4] is recognized; and the statement describing ancestral spirits as " active members " of a lineage implies the existence of an ancestor cult.

SOURCE: H. E. Lambert, *The systems of land tenure in the Kikuyu Land Unit. Part I. History of the tribal occupation of the land*, pp. 67, 68.

[1] XLVI, p. 2.
[2] *Through Masai Land*, 1887, p. 262
[3] *Kenya Land Commission, Report*, 1933, p. 93
[4] = Nandi *turur*, " above."

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

are borrowed from the Nandi. But all the available evidence indicates that they are not of Nandi stock, and that in fact they are not related to any of the present inhabitants of the East African highlands.

A Dorobo group cannot strictly be called a tribe, for among other things no group seems to call itself by a distinctive name: they are merely *Okiek* to themselves and to the Nandi. The term 'group' is not a satisfactory substitute for 'tribe', and the least ambiguous word available seems to be 'horde', by which we shall accordingly designate each of these scattered groups of hunters. The Dorobo horde has not developed the tribal spirit which is so marked in neighbouring tribes, though there is a certain amount of horde spirit — enough to keep each horde to its own territory and to mind its own business. But to strangers, the Dorobo emphasizes that he is a Dorobo rather than, say, a Masae or a Nandi. This absence of distinctive horde-names means that we must devise names to designate particular hordes. Such names may readily be found among the place-names of the areas concerned; and so long as we remember that they are merely convenient labels no harm will be done, and the task of distinction between hordes will be made easier. For the horde which we are now about to describe the name Kipkurerek seems the most appropriate, for it is the name of the chief river in their forest, and has, moreover, already been given currency by HOBLEY, who used it in 1905.

The Dorobo call themselves *Okiek*, singular *Okiet*, by which name the Nandi also call them. The Masae speak of them as *Il-Torobo*, singular *Ol-Toroboni*, from which is derived (through Bantuized forms) the name *Wandorobo* or *Andorobo* by which they are often known. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there are fifteen Dorobo hordes in Kenya and Tanganyika, which may be classed in four major groups, three in Kenya and one in Tanganyika:

Group	Horde	Now or formerly [1] in contact with	Territory
I. Western [2]:	1. Kipkurerek	Nandi	Kenya
	2. Tindiret	Nandi	Kenya
	3. Lo-l-diani	Nandi	Kenya
	4. Ravine	Nandi, Tuken, Keyo	Kenya
	5. Western Mau	Nandi, Kipsikis, Masae	Kenya
	6. Eastern Mau	Nandi, Kipsikis, Masae	Kenya
II. Central [3]:	7. Dundule	Masae	Kenya
	8. Saleta	Masae	Kenya
	9. Kidong	Masae, Kikuyu	Kenya
	10. Digiri	Masae, Kikuyu	Kenya
III. Eastern [3]:	11. Kisima	Masae	Kenya
	12. Mt. Kenya	Masae, Kikuyu	Kenya
IV. Southern:	13. Mosiro	Masae	Tanganyika
	14. Aramanik.	Masae	Tanganyika

[1] I. e. before the arrival of Europeans about 1890.
[2] Remnants of these still remain in places in the western area.
[3] Recorded by THOMSON (1883) and HOBLEY (1905).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE DOROBO HORDES
IN KENYA COLONY
SUK
MARAKUET
SAMBURU
KISIMA
FORMERLY
MASAE
NANDI
KEYO
TUKEN
FORMERLY
MASAE
KIPKURERE
TINDIRET
KAVIRONDO GULF
KIPSIKIS
WEST NYANZA
EAST NYANZA
FORMERLY
MASAE
DUNDULE
DIGIRI
KENYA
CALETA
KIKUYU
KIDONG
MASAE
DOROBO HORDES
(approximate)
Shaded areas represent
Land over 7000 feet.
Miles

101
G31
1331

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

In 1938 and 1939 I made a census of the three Dorobo districts which were still inhabited, which showed that out of a total of 226 surviving members of the Kipkurerek horde, 67 % were living in the forest or on farms close to it. The remaining 33 % were settled in groups in certain areas of Nandi (where they had been for many years, having gone there by private arrangement with the Nandi), and in Uasin Gishu, with a few in the Kamasya and Keyo Reserves. Most of these 33 % maintained fairly constant contact with the forest people, and all were recognized as members of one or other of the three Dorobo districts. Under these conditions it is surprizing that they have retained so much of their traditional organization; but the disruption of their life accounts for some of the difficulties experienced in studying them, and for some of the gaps in the record. Nevertheless it was not too late in 1938 to gain a record which, however imperfect, does substantially increase our knowledge of the Dorobo.

The dispersal of the Dorobo made it necessary to classify the people according to their domiciles, and this resulted in a grouping of the horde in four "domicile categories":

A. Inside the forest, at an altitude of 8000 ft. and over.
B. Farmland on the edge of the forest, mostly over 7500 ft. and within a mile of the trees.
C. Farmland or Nandi Reserve within 10 miles of the forest, with natural conditions generally similar to B, but a little lower.
D. Keyo, Kamasya, and Laikipya, where conditions in places are similar to B.

An analysis of the census and domicile categories will be found in the Appendix p. 8.

Since in this paper we can deal only with those parts of the social organization that concern the family and clan, a short summary of other aspects of Dorobo life may be helpful. The social and political life of the Dorobo is based on the clan, which has its own council to deal with internal affairs, and even to-day people live in clan groups. This is contrast to the Nandi, where the clans are dispersed and play but a small part in outward political life. The forest is divided into nine districts or parishes (*koret* plur. *korosuek*) of which only three are now inhabited. These districts, from north to south, are: 1. Cepurur[1]; 2. Kelpui; 3. Sirua; 4. Kipkorom; 5. Sosoiyo; 6. Meteitei; 7. Mokopic; 8. Puret; 9. Sangalo. In 1938-40 only Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo were inhabited; the latter had been amalgamated with Meteitei. Each district had a council, which dealt with matters appertaining to the district as a whole irrespective of clans. The Dorobo never acquired the council habit of the Nandi; district councils were held only when there was something important to talk about; and the clan council was both a more frequent and less formal affair than the district council.

There is no chief of the horde, nor an elected chief or leader in either clan or district council, the leading man (*kiruokindet* — the councillor)

[1] *C* — *ch* in English 'church', and is used with this value throughout.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

gaining his position through the tacit recognition of the people. The horde therefore consists of a loosely integrated group of districts held together partly because they "are all Dorobo", but much more by the clan-solidarity which extends across the district boundaries. The clan is thus a far more important institution than it is among the Nandi.

The Dorobo are a hunting people who have been forced to take up agriculture, and at the same time are in process of acquiring a small amount of live stock. A great deal of their culture and most of their language have been borrowed from the Nandi; but their habits and mental characteristics are their own, including a "hunting outlook" which contrasts with the "cattle outlook" of the pastoralist, and a feeling of sympathy with wild animals that does not exist among either pastoralists or agriculturalists. Next in importance to hunting come bees, and honey is regarded much as pastoral people regard milk.

Although the Dorobo are commonly thought of as a people who wander at will wherever there is game, this notion is true only to a limited extent. Parties used to go far afield in the old days seeking game outside their own territory in the sparsely inhabited areas of the highlands; but their own forest was and still is divided into strictly observed economic areas where are family holdings in which people hunt, set traps, keep their bees, and collect vegetable food. These areas may look small on the map; but anyone who thinks that half an inch on a map (representing perhaps one mile on the ground) seems a very short distance, will find when he gets to the forest that one mile on the ground is a very formidable tract offering all sorts of possibilities for the hunter, and infinite chances for the stranger to lose himself.

Appendix

Analysis of the Census

District	Single men	Married men	Women	Male children	Female children	Totals
Kipkoreon	8	6	15	10	10	49
Soaiyo	22	19	26	16	19	102
Kelpai	25	19	17	9	8	78
	55	44	58	35	34	226

Analysis of Domicile Categories

Domicile category	Kipkoreon	Soaiyo	Kelpai	% of Total	Totals
A	0	13	0	6	13
B	33	59	46	61	138
C	16	24	17	25	57
D	0	3	12	7	15
Unknown	0	3	0	1	3
	49	102	75	100	226

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

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MOI
Cepoyeye ♀

KIPIEKEN — MOI
♂ Kipcapos arap Mengati — Comiemit ♀
(*Kimayiki*)

♂ Kipsoimo
(*Uama*)

An extended patrilocal family which lived at Kiptarakon in the Nandi Reserve was that of Pilo, whose relationship contacts have been described above:

Hut 1

KAPSEKOI
♂ Kipkatam arap Ngamogam
(*Kepisiat*)

Hut 2

KIPKENDA — KIPIEKEN
♂ Coimim — Cepkoiec ♀ — ♂ Pilo — Cematia ♀
(*Maina*) (*Nyongi*)

Cemesundei ♀ — ♂ Kipkurkat ♂ Kimaiyo
(*Uama*)

Other forms of grouping are the fraternal group, where several brothers live together, either in separate huts with their wives and children, or if unmarried sharing one or two huts; and the clan group, in which several elementary or domestic families of the same clan live together.

In the old days, by which I mean the time when the Dorobo still lived unmolested by Europeans in the forest, these family and clan groups lived a good deal inside the forest, in small clearings or in glades on the edge. Inside the forest, the clearings were just big enough to contain the number of huts needed by the settlement. The old type of Dorobo hut soon became ruinous and full of fleas (as they put it), and in consequence after a few months a clearing would be abandoned and a new site chosen. These forest settlements were hard for a stranger to find. The path which he was following from the main track would branch a few yards from where it took off, with no indication as to which branch to follow, and whichever he chose, he would find that it branched again after a little way: it was in fact almost impossible to find one's way to one of these settlements without a guide. Most of the Dorobo to-day, however, live on the edge of the forest. Their settlements are consequently easier to find; they are usually close to some cultivation, and are occupied for longer periods.

Family groupings, whether in the forest or outside it, when they are larger than the elementary or domestic family, very often contain someone

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

who stands in the relation of father's brother to the younger members of the group, as in the diagram of Pilo's family above, in which both sets of children have a father's brother living close at hand. In a clan group there might be no father's brother actually in the settlement, but often he would not be far off, for the tendency is to settle in defined groups, and not isolated to the same extent as among the Nandi, where a family may live alone without forming part of a settlement though still a member of the parish. This point is important, for the father's brother plays the same part in a child's life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi.

The family, consisting of father, mother, and children, lives in close contact with one or more families, and sometimes includes the husband's father or mother (I came across no case where both were alive together). These families give the Dorobo child his first experience of human beings. Kinship usages are determined to a certain extent by environment and way of life, for under forest conditions and a hunting economy the father is of necessity away from home a good deal, and young children are much in the society of their mothers and the other women of the settlement. This of course is true of other types of society; but in a pastoral society, such as the Nandi, for instance, the father is not, under compulsion of seeking the day to day food supply, obliged to go away from the homestead if he feels disinclined; and there is no doubt that a Dorobo child of tender years sees much less of his father than a Nandi child. When food must be got as it is needed, and when it is scanty or difficult to store, the father, on whom falls the duty of getting it, must be away much more than the man whose cows are close at hand, or whose cultivation produces a crop which he can store.

Till a child is weaned, which may be at the age of twelve months or thereabouts, it is in closer contact with its mother than anybody else, and the father leaves it more or less alone. When the mother has to go out to do her share of food-getting, the child is left at home in charge of its elder sister if it has one, or with its father's mother; failing these, some woman or girl of the settlement will look after it. A Dorobo mother cannot take her baby with her when searching for vegetable food in the forest, for it cannot conveniently be carried on the back in such surroundings; nor can she, like the agriculturalist, lay it down under a tree while she works, because it would not be safe to do so in the forest. This habit persists to-day, and even when a woman goes to work in her shamba [*] the baby is left behind in somebody's care. But a woman's food-questing is done much more quickly than a man's hunting, and she is soon back at home; the shamba, too, is not so far away that she cannot get back to the child quickly if need be.

The attitude of a man to his wife is profoundly affected by physical and environmental conditions. The shortage of women and the difficulties of getting a wife (especially when cattle are becoming the medium of bride-

[*] The swahili word shamba — cultivated land, field, farm, is current throughout Kenya. Since it is a shorter and simpler word than the English equivalent, I shall use it in the sense of a plot of cultivated land.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FLA Dorobo FLA

Between a man and the members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed. As the Dorobo put it, *Kirupshei, Ainewomishei, Aitiowishei, 'Kemein Am, ngui kom kimat', amwa ki lakok.* ("We use bad language to one another, we play together, we say to each other, 'May your father lie with you, or may you lie with your mother', because we are children", i.e. we are all of the same age.) These rude phrases, however, must never be used to elders, and to do so is very shameful; but spoken to members of one's own age-set or generation they are quite harmless and have no sinister implications. Between the sexes of the same generation there may be a perfectly innocuous intimacy, between brother and sister, between *marokor, mamwa,* and *kwanda,* which allows any kind of joking and language but stops short of actual sexual intercourse; and in spite of this license, such evidence as there was indicated that incest was not common. Between members of the same generation, especially in youth and early middle age, there is also a strong bond in the shape of mutual help and support among those who live near each other, extending to all departments of home life. The effect of propinquity must not be overlooked, and the claims of even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen may be reduced to insignificance.

The general attitude of a man's own children to the children of his *marokor*, his *mamwa*, and his *kwanda*, is the same, in that they are all like his own children, who may be played with or reproved when necessary, but without the use of any bad language or abuse. To those children to whom he is 'father's brother' there is of course the special attitude that I have already described. But between members of this generation there is a marked terminological difference:

so that by classification all the children on the father's side are *marokor*, while those on the mother's side are both *mamwa* and *kwanda*; and a man's own children are *apaa*, while those of his sister are *mamwa*. When the children are small these differences are merely nominal and not apparent; but as they grow older a distinction tends to arise between those on the father's side and those on the mother's side, especially between *marokor* and *mamwa*; and this is emphasized by the possibility that a man might marry his *marokor* (father's sister's daughter's daughter), even if he seldom or never does so in fact.

Between a man and the second descending generation there is a relationship of respect, for terminologically his grandchildren are equated with his grandfather. In practice, however, this generation counts as far as he

162
361
621

The people contained in these settlements in 1939 were:

Kipukwa:
Arap Minin, his wife and 5 children.
Arap Ruto, his brother.
Cesikirikat, his mother.
Arap Keter, his wife and 2 children.
Kipsan, Malakwen, Kipsangri } brothers of A/Keter
Cepkoiec, sister of A/Keter.
Arap Teitony, clansman.

Upper Sooniyo: Arap Cepsonita.
Arap Ceruiyo, his brother.
Kipor, his brother.
Kipkutik, his brother.
Simotua, clansman.
Kiptanui, cousin of Arap Cepsonita.
Kwemo, brother of Kiptanui.
Kimitei, his brother.
Cepsiip, his sister.
Arap Lengai, relationship not established.
Koriosi arap Munyengua, his wife and 3 children.

Ndoroton: Arap Singira.
Oriayi, his brother.
Kipkurwot, his brother.
Arap Ngeli, Arap Kome } clansmen
Arap Ceimalita.
Mother of last two.
Widow with 3 children.
Widow.

Isolated: Arap Koruru, alone.

Upper Ngatepkon:
Kipitet (Kipiekut).
Kueyo, his brother.
Kimmerkat, clansman.
Daughter of Kimmerkat.
Kikuow (Kipiekut).
Arap Enni (Kapurkui).
Kimmurura (Kapurkui).
Sudio arap Silimbo (Toiyui).

Lower Ngatepkon[*]:
(1) Tote arap Nasutik, his wife and 3 children.
(2) Nekui arap Mereua, his wife and son.
(3) Kilanya arap Korongua, his wife and 3 children.

[*] Note that (1) is Kipiekut, (2) Kapil, and (3) Kapurkui.

/67 cont'd/

[illegible] only [illegible] a small number of Wanderobo 162
are left to represent this tribe, it would be erroneous to consider
that the tribe was never more numerous, and in fact, there were
probably several hundreds of families representing more than a
thousand people in the not very distant past. The reason for the 648
decrease in their numbers is due, not to extinction, but to 177
absorption, for when the Kikuyu bought their land many
Wanderobo families gave up their hunting life and married into
Kikuyu families as well as giving their daughters in marriage to
the Kikuyu, until in the course of a generation or two they
were completely absorbed ...

"... it was the custom of the Wanderobo of the Kikuyu area to 621
live in fairly large villages where their numbers gave them and
their families reasonable security from attack, and where they
could organise their social life in such a way as to have courts [692]
of justice and other amenities of this type".

77. Dorobo Organization

With regard to organization, a Dorobo witness told the 596
Land Commission in a sworn statement: "Like the Kikuyu we had
our mbaris", but this does not in itself mean very much; an mbari
is only an extended family and the extension may be so slight that
all we can infer from the remark, if we believe it, is that the family
was the unit of the social order. But the same witness, later on in
the same statement, said: "Our name 'Mbari ya Choiro' is the name
applied to us all, as Kikuyu is the name for all the Kikuyu tribe. [619]
Within the Mbari ya Choiro there are other mbari", and this certain-
ly suggests a recognition of the mbari as part of a clan, though the
possibility of mere imitation cannot be ruled out.

The following brief account of their tribal organization was 124
given me at a meeting of the Dorobo now living at Kerita on the [114]
edge of the Forest Reserve, and subsequently checked with the
assistance of two elders, Ruchuba obo Lesuswa, who lives on a [115]
European farm close to the Forest Reserve (in the Naivasha area), and
Gwamba ng'ab Sabaiya, who lives at Kerrita.

Both the social and the economic ranges of the Dorobo are very narrow. The family is a self-supporting unit, and a group of families forms a social unit: but the group is isolated, and the groups cohere through their strong clan solidarity and strict exogamy. There is no "tribe" as e.g. the Nandi, but a collection of family or clan groups forming a *koret* or district, and a collection of such groups within a given area having a common organization, customs, and dialect, and the innate idea that "we are the Dorobo of such-and-such a place." Thus the Kapchepkendi Dorobo (with whom this paper deals) distinguish themselves from the Dorobo living on Tindiret hill, though that hill is only some seven miles from Sosoiyo. (See map of the Dorobo country.) Before the Government dispersed them, the Dorobo possessed, more or less undisturbed, the whole of the forest. Now they have no land at all. But they maintain their solidarity in spite of disruption, by means of their isolation, strong clan-system, and the fact that outsiders, e.g. the Nandi, are half afraid of them (so long as they do not go into Nandi), as being rainmakers and magicians of no mean ability, a people who are, in fact, somewhat uncanny. Their external relations may be described under three heads as (1) acquisitional: exchange of goods and services with the Nandi, and, till about 80 years ago, with the Vasin Gishu Masae; (2) restrictive: the Government raids them for taxes, and takes away their land, which leads to (3) an attitude of deep suspicion towards all Europeans, though they are driven by economic pressure to work for them.

Productive activities are concerned with the following:

A. *Food*: meat (by hunting and trapping), honey, wild plants, eleusine and maize (grown or obtained), milk, maize meal, salt and beer.

B. *Non-edible*: houses, weapons, implements, utensils, clothing and ornaments (except of iron), firewood, traps, honey-barrels, coloured earth (which is dug in the eastern part of the forest and sold to the Nandi for cash.)

C. *Raw Materials*: wood, plants, and skins.

The exchange of their own products for things they do not make is governed by natural resources,

/230 cont./ It is to be
613 noted, however, that there seems to be no El kiboron among the Asá,
171 as is shown by both the consistent assertions of the people and the observations of the author, who did not find any members of that lineage among them anywhere. The respect and esteem that the El kiboron enjoy among all the Masai people sufficiently explains the fact that, with the displacement of the Wandorobo at the time, they were adopted into the community of the oppressors.

/231/ II.

000 Plan and arrangement of the camp. -- The huts. -- Household equipment. -- Daily life, food, work. -- Earthen pots. -- Baskets. -- Leather dressing. -- Market trade. -- Honey extraction. -- Manufacture of bows and arrows. -- Spears. -- Dance and song.

361 The Asá roam the steppes as hunters, in that they wander with
[224] the game, whose meat gives them food and out of whose skins they
[239] make their clothing. This circumstance brings along with it the fact that they can not live together in large kraals, but rather, divided into small bands, are forced to stay here today and in a
[342] distant place a few weeks later. Accordingly, their camps (aijo) only consist of hastily built small huts (morōg) that are made out of branches and grass. The camps as a rule are hidden in dense
[487] bush and have no special enclosure. The paths and game runs leading to them are carefully barricaded with thorn branches and thus made inaccessible. Only the practiced eye of the Asá will find the wonderfully concealed entrance to the camp.

• 621 Only two or three families, rarely a few more, usually live in
[591] one camp. Next to their huts are found those in which the unmarried circumcised men (dobonog) live with the young girls. As among
[192] the Masai, each young man has his favorite girl. He calls her
[191] sanjet uan, she calls him sanjeg uan, words in which one again finds the Masai word sandja. Their huts are designated as morog

/231 cont./

621 [192] [071] to dobonog, i.e., huts of the unmarried men, in contrast to the aija to daĩma, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we find, even in the name, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

171 353 415 237 283 352 412 The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself, resembles that of the Masai; its furnishings, however, are even sparser. A honey pot (madjé, madjeog), a gourd bottle (mget) for drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (lebenu, lebenua) for collecting honey, a larger one (ndaro, ndareraũg) for water, a few earthen pots, larger ones (idug, idia) and smaller ones (ruguba, ruguba) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (tagi), a rope cut out of an animal skin (scharu, scháruga) to tie up the slain meat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees (meriñgo), along with a few dehaired skins (fulót) that serve as beds, as well as ax (haũo, hauereg) and knife (pandyug), constitute the 492 412 principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the en dereta /pack-holders/ of the Masai, here called lalaho (leleweg), 413 as well as a hammer (giribét) for forging and a chisel for designing 177 the arrow points (mad, mara), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (herá, hererá). The entire family, 592 namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children, live in one /232/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out.

512 [224] [264] [825] The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting grounds. The game now behaves best; as they say, it then feeds more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat [251] is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and 512 thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten. 264 Actually the Wandorobo do not have definite mealtimes: as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.